

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 CAPE T 00075 210625Z  
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W  
-----210627Z 123726 /11  
R 201520Z JAN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5614

C O N F I D E N T I A L CAPE TOWN 0075

NODIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PFOR, RH  
SUBJ: TEXT OF CROSLAND TO SMITH LETTER

REF: (A) CAPE TOWN 0045; (B) CAPE TOWN 0074

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF CROSLAND TO SMITH LETTER MENTIONED  
IN REFTEL (B):

QUOTE:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR MESSAGE FO 14 JANUARY. I DO NOT THINK  
THAT IT IS HELPFUL FOR US TO ENGAGE IN MUTUAL RECRIMINATION  
ABOUT THE PAST. I SHALL THEREFORE CONFINE MY COMMENTS TO  
THE POINTS IN YOUR MESSAGE WHICH BEAR DIRECTLY ON HOW WE  
SHOULD PROCEED IN OUR EFFORTS TO REACH AN AGREED SOLUTION  
TO THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM.

FIRST, THE NATIONALIST DELEGATIONS TO THE GENEVA CONFERENCE  
WERE CATEGORIC AND UNANIMOUS IN REJECTING, EVEN AS A BASIS  
FOR NEGOTIATION, THE THIRD OF THE FIVE POINTS IN YOUR  
STATEMENT OF 24 SEPTEMBER. DESPITE THIS, MR RICHARD AND HIS  
DELEGATION SOUTHT TO PERSUADE THEM TB CONSIDER A TWO-TIER  
STRUCTURE FOR A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT WHICH WOULD HAVE COME  
CLOSE TOWHAT YOU YOURSELF ENVISAGED. IT IS NOW DLEAR THAT IT  
WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE TO PERSUADE THEM TO ACCEPT ANY STRUCTURE  
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WHICH MANIFESTLY REFLECTS THE ONE OUTLINED IN YOUR STATEMENT:  
BUT WE STILL HOPE - AND THIS IS THE PURPOSE OF MR RICHARD'S  
PRESENT CONSULTATIONS - TO ESTABLISH AGREEMENT ON A STRUCTURE  
AND MECHANISMS FOR THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT WHICH WOULD  
ACHIEVE THE SAME PURPOSE AND WHICH, SPECIFICALLY, WOULD  
SAFEGUARD THE ESSENTIAL INTERESTS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY  
DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. I HOPE THEREFORE THAT YOU WILL

CONSIDER VERY CAREFULLY THE MORE PRECISE IDEAS WHICH MR RICHARD WILLNPUT TO YOU DURING HIS NEXT VISIT. MR RICHARD DID NOT, INCIDENTALLY, CLOSE THE DOOR ON LETTING YOU HAVE A PIECE OF PAPER FOLLOWING HIS MEETING WITH YOU ON 1 JANUARY: HE SIMPLY WANTED TO LET YOU KNOW THAT HE COULD NOT DO SO AS EARLY AS HE HAD ORIGINALLY EXPECTED.

SECOND, I DO NOT AGREE THAT IT IS EITHER POSSIBLE OR REASONABLE TO SEEK TO ELIMINATE FROM THE NEGOTIATIONS THE INFLIENCE OF THE PRESIDENTS AND OF THOSE NATIONALIST LEADERS WHO ARE IN TOUCH WITH THE GUERRILLA FIGHTERS. ANY SETTLEMENT THAT CAN BE ENVISAGED AND THEN IMPLEMENTED MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY A CEASEFIRE.AS I SAID IN MY LAST MESSAGE TO YOU IT SEEMS QUITE CLEAR THAT THOSE WHO REPRESENT THE FIGHTERS MUST BE ASSOCIATED WITH ANY SETTLEMENT.

THIRD, WHILE I DO NOT DISSENT FROM YOUR VIEW THAT THE EMPHASIS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE ON THE VIEWS OF THE AFRICANSINSIDE RHODESIA I DO NOT THINK THAT IT IS TRUE THAT THEIR VOICE HAS BEEN LITTLE HEARD SO FAR AT GENEVA. HOWEVER THAT MAY BE, THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IS TO PROCEED AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE TO A SITUATION IN WHICH ELECTIONS CAN BE HELD AND IN WHICH THE RHODESIAN POPULATION AS A WHOLE CAN EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS.THESE ELECTIONS WILL TAKE PLACE DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD.

YOU REFER IN THE FINAL PARAGRAPH OF YOUR MESSAGE TO "THE FEARS OF SOME AFRICANS THAT WHITE RHODESIANS WOULD BE LEFT

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IN A POSITION WHERE THEY COULD, INDUE COURSE, STAGE A SECOND UDI". THERE IS INDEED A WIDESPREAD FEAR THAT, UNLESS THERE ARE SPECIAL SAFEGUARDS, INDEPENDENCE UNDER GENUINE MAJORITY RULE MAY NOT COME AT THE AGREED TIME. I HAVE NOTED YOURSUGGESTION, IN THIS CONTEXT, OF A TREATY UNDERWRITING THE SETTLEMENT. IT IS OF COURSE TRUE THAT ANY SETTLEMENT, IF IT IS TO BE ACCEPTED AND IF IT IS TO BE DURABLE, MUST HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE OTHER STATES WHO ARE DIRECTLY INTERESTED, NOT ONLY THOSE THAT YOU MENTION. I DO NOT MYSELF SEE HOW A TREATY COULD ADEQUATELY MEET THE FEARS THAT WE BOTH RECOGNISE TO EXIST. THAT CAN BE DONE ONLY BY A SETTLEMENT WHOSE OWN MECHANISMS PROVIDE A GUARANTEE AGAINST ANY ATTEMPT BY THE EUROPEAN MINORITY TO REVERS THE PROCEESS TO MAJORITYRULE, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME PROVIDING THE NECESSARY SAFEGUARDS THAT THE PROCESS WILL BE ORDERLY. ENDS UNQUOTE  
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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** TEXT, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, INTERIM GOVERNMENT, INDEPENDENCE, PERSONAL OPINION, NEGOTIATIONS, GENEVA CONFERENCE, CAT-B, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
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**Disposition Reason:**  
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**Subject:** TEXT OF CROSLAND TO SMITH LETTER  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PREL, PDEV, RH, UK, (CROSLAND, ANTHONY), (SMITH, IAN)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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